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for the concept of 'godhead' or 'deity'. That translation gives Widi a personal character, more so, perhaps, than is anchored in Balinese thought itself. Sometimes the terminology corresponds even more closely to that of Islam. It has been said, for example, that 'the One God Allah' is invoked at the lotus-seat in the household temple.

The fact that people on Bali are occupying themselves with this question of the oneness of Widi is probably not without connection to the present political situation. Bali is now a part of a state by far the most of whose inhabitants are Moslems. Hence the Balinese are a religious minority. That fact makes them sensitive regarding religious freedom, and again and again there are statements, in the press and elsewhere, that give them cause for concern. For example, it was said in a leading Indonesian weekly a few years ago that if the Moslems won the majority in parliament and the constituent assembly in the impending elections Indonesia could be made a Moslem state. The reaction from Bali was not long in coming. Its writer asked what was actually meant by the term 'Moslem state'. Was religious liberty to be abolished by a simple majority vote? The Moslems undoubtedly had the power to do so. Would they then force the followers of other religions to embrace Islam? The writer closed with an appeal to the love of their common fatherland, for which adherents of all the various religions had made sacrifices, and with praise for the wise policy of the government, which left everyone free in his religion.[9]

Around the same time the rumour circulated that the government would only allow religions which "have a prophet, have a holy book, and are generally recognized ..." In parliament a Balinese member then raised the question whence the government would derive the right to stipulate such conditions. These discussions prompted a Moslem writer to argue that an appeal to religious freedom and democracy would lead to religious anarchy. All sorts of wild sects were springing up; did the government have to tolerate that? And as far as Bali was concerned, its religion could not be considered as the 'Hindu-Buddhist religion', with

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the *wedas* as its holy book and Buddha as its prophet. It would therefore be the best thing to recognize and protect the religion of the Balinese, like that of the animists in Tapanuli and other groups, but only within its own territory. If this is not done, the writer argued, our people, who still have little religious discernment, will be at the mercy of 'the religions of ignorance' (the term for pre-Moslem heathendom in Arabia), with their temples and idols, and in that way the clock will be set back a thousand years. Again the reply was not long in coming. In it, with an appeal to the "freedom of every resident to profess his own religion and to worship according to his religion and belief" set forth in the provisional constitution, the author protested against the proposal of restricting the Balinese religion to Bali: like Islam and Christianity, the Balinese religion should have the right to spread its wings.[10]

Such an appeal to the constitution was only natural. But one of the five principles in the constitution's preamble specifically states that the Indonesian Republic is "based on the recognition of the Divine Omnipotence ..." (so runs the official translation; the Indonesian term is *ke-Tuhanan yang Maha Esa*, which can also be translated as "the fact of God being one"). Interpreted strictly, then, this principle is a rejection of polytheism as well as atheism. For many Balinese such a wording says too much, just as it says too little for many a Moslem.

In these circumstances it is understandable that the Balinese have tended to give emphasis to the figure of Sang Hyang Widi. At the same time, that emphasis complies with the inclination to make religion more an affair of the head and the heart than of outward, extensive (and thus expensive) ceremonies, for in principle there is no offering of temple cult for Widi.

3

Bali and India

If the view of the origin and development of Balinese culture presented in Chapter Two is correct, then that culture is a duality,

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The State Temples of Měngwi

In the last decade of the nineteenth century the principality of Měngwi, once renowned in the history of Bali, was worsted in battle by the surrounding princedoms of Badung, Tabanan, and Gianyar. The territory was annexed by the victors, and that *status quo* was maintained after Dutch authority was established in southern Bali in the years 1906–1908. As late as 1938, when the principalities were re-established on Bali, the descendants of the earlier dynasty attempted to have Měngwi restored, but for various reasons their wish was not granted.

In this connection it is of importance to point out that the arrangements made by the former ruling house of Měngwi for the maintenance of two of its state temples and the periodical offering ceremonial there still obtain, despite the fall of the political unit.

These two state temples are situated in the extreme north of the present region of Badung, in the former sub-district of Charangsari, which stretches to the north in a narrow strip to where the mountains to the east of Lake Bratan and Mount Pĕngelengan level off as the Chatur Plateau. In Balinese terminology both temples are mountain sanctuaries (*puras puchak* or *puras bukit*). They are called Pura Puchak Bon and Pura Puchak Tiingan, after the villages in whose territories they are located.

The *pĕmaksan*, the worship group in the more restricted sense charged with maintaining the temple grounds and buildings and caring for the performance of the offering ceremonials, consists of the villages in the *pĕrbĕkĕlans* of Pĕlaga, Bĕlok, Sidan, and Tiingan. The villages included in these *pĕrbĕkĕlans* are shown in Table 1.

It should be pointed out that at the present time the *pĕrbĕkĕlans* Pĕlaga and Bĕlok have been consolidated into one administrative

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The members of the royal house of Badung, which took over the rights of the dynasty formerly ruling in Mĕngwi after the fall of that realm, also maintain an interest in the upkeep of the temple and do not fail either to be present or to send representatives to the religious ceremonies. The reason for this is clearly their desire to obtain divine sanction in order to legitimate themselves as the lawful successors to the many time-honoured dynastic rights of Mĕngwi.

While the core villagers of the four *pĕrbĕkĕlans* are the persons strictly responsible for the care of the temples, the remaining inhabitants lend their assistance on the occasion of extraordinary temple repairs and other quite expensive provisions, just as they do in the case of their own village temples. It is also possible for voluntary contributions to be made.

There are state temples in other parts of Bali as well. To mention a few examples, in the region of Tabanan, bordering on Badung to the west, there are four sanctuaries which play the same rôle there that Pura Puchak Bon and Pura Puchak Tiingan played for Mĕngwi in earlier times and for Badung today. They are the *puras* of Batu Kau, Pĕtali, Bĕsikalung, and Tambawaras, all of which lie at the southern foot of Gunung Batu Kau in the region of Tabanan. For the region of Bangli there are among others Pura Kĕhĕn, to the north of the town of Bangli, and the temples of Tĕgĕh Koripan and Dalĕm Bĕlingkang in the district of Kintamani.

This is far from a complete list of the sanctuaries that can be considered as state temples; nor has anything yet been said regarding the differences in system which they display. It may suffice to note that not all state temples are mountain sanctuaries in the sense that they are located at either the foot or the top of a mountain or hill; that some of them are closely linked with the veneration of the mountain lakes, which are presumed to have a regularizing influence on the irrigation water, for which reason the irrigation associations or *subaks* are the primary groups caring for the temples; and finally that in some cases there is a clear correlation in the system of state temples between the worship of

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lasted several days and roused interest even in remote parts of Bali. A moderate tone dominated the celebration, at least to all appearances. Invitations to attend the commemoration were sent to the regional and central Balinese authorities. Among the motives preventing the ruler of Badung (of the Paměchutan family) from being present at the ceremony, the old controversy between the dynasties of Badung and Měngwi will in all probability have played a rôle.

Everywhere on Bali history has deep roots, though it rarely leaves clear traces. Factual historiography is alien to the Balinese, and there is a tendency to mythologize important historical personages and events. Perhaps it is precisely for this reason that the after-effects of certain events are to be felt for so long. In the Měngwi area the system of state temples helps to keep the memory of the days of political and dynastic glory alive. A more or less latent but quite general feeling of political discontent is still to be found in the area. Before the war this feeling found expression in certain nuances in governability, and it is not out of the question that such matters will also make themselves felt in the growing national and political consciousness of the present day.

It has already been pointed out that in popular parlance the relation between the state temples and the dynasty of Měngwi is given expression in the statement that the sanctuaries 'belong' to the erstwhile royal family. Nonetheless the Abiansĕmal district head is recognized as the person directly in charge of maintenance of the temple, and it is considered natural that the reigning family of Badung should participate in ceremonies at the dynastic sanctuaries of the former house of Měngwi. There is a clear realization that in this relationship between temple and dynasty a tie is involved of a higher order than can be expressed in such terms as 'property' or 'ownership'.

A temple becomes a state sanctuary because the ruler participates in its cult. As a result of that participation the sanctuary is given a sort of legitimation in the eyes of everyone under the authority of the ruler – also of those who belong to upper castes, for the ruler, in the exercise of his functions, is considered as the

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792 highest authority, with power over all Brahmins, even the priests.
659 For this reason there is no objection on the part of the subjects to participating in ceremonies at a temple where the ruler pays homage in his official capacity. The ruler, however, must restrict himself to paying homage to certain gods who enjoy general veneration, gods who are on a level with Surya, Siwa, Mahadewa, and the deity of Gunung Agung. Sometimes the deity worshipped has a special significance as an expression of the tie between the dynasty and the territory ruled: this is, for example, the case with the deity of Mount Pĕngelengan, which mountain dominates the chief river basins of traditional Mĕngwi.

The two mountain sanctuaries at Tiingan and Bon were not the only state temples in the former realm of Mĕngwi. Among others there were Pura Taman Ayun, in the capital of the principality, and Pura Prasada, or Sada, at Kapal, a short distance from the capital. There is also reputedly a certain link between those temples and Pura Sĕkenan on the island of Sarangan, Pura Ulun Siwi at Jimbaran, and Pura Ulu Batu on Bukit Peninsula. There was no opportunity to trace the nature and essence of this link, but it is not impossible that, since the last three temples are all of them located nearby the sea, they may be looked upon as the nether-worldly counterparts of the state temples in the mountains and at the centre of the realm.

[121] For a clarification of the conceptions underlying the notion of a state temple it would be of value for a closer study to be made of the mountain sanctuaries at Bon and Tiingan together with Pura Taman Ayun and Pura Prasada. However, during my visits there was no time to acquire more than superficial information. This was true especially as regards Pura Taman Ayun.

769 In that temple one is struck by the clear expression of the royal
792 dynasty's ancestor cult. In the inner court, in the eastern row of
346 altars, there is a large *paibon*, oriented towards the east in the usual way. As is pointed out elsewhere in these notes, the *paibon* (a brick structure containing a tripartite brick altar) plays a rôle in the worship of ancestors; at the same time it occupies a prominent

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and the system of state temples. The material for an answer to this question is not yet available, but there are certain pointers. In both the village temple system and that of the state temples there is an antithesis between sanctuaries for the veneration of the gods of the upper world and those of the nether world. Clear examples are the temple complexes of Luhur, Pĕtali, Tambawaras, and Bĕsikalung in Tabanan, all of which manifest the basic pattern of the three-temple system within their complexes: each has within its walls a *pura puseh*, a *pura pĕnataran*, and a *pura dalĕm*. To what extent this system is to be detected in the state temples of Mĕngwi in the position occupied by Pura Taman Ayun as against the mountain sanctuaries of Bon and Tiingan on the one hand and the sea temples of Ulu Batu and Sĕkenan on the other needs further investigation.

In closing a summary may be given of what can be deduced from the evidence at this point. The oldest dynastic sanctuary of the former realm of Mĕngwi is Pura Prasada at Kapal. Other state temples are Pura Taman Ayun and the mountain sanctuaries at Tiingan and Bon. It is not impossible that other, less important temples may also belong to the system, while the *puras* of Sĕkenan, Ulun Siwi, and Ulu Batu, located near the seashore, also play a rôle in connection with it.

All the state temples mentioned are characterized by a certain link with the veneration of the dynastic ancestors, who in their deified aspect are conceived of as having been absorbed into the *nawa-sanga*. In each of the state sanctuaries there are chapels for the three chief mountains of Bali (Gunung Agung, Batur, and Batu Kau), the other state temples of the realm, and the *puras* of Ulun Siwi, Sĕkenan, and Ulu Batu: locally these temples are all grouped together under the designation of *sadkayangan*.

In the distribution of those temples through the former realm, the highland area, the centre, and the coast form the cardinal points. It is clear from the association of the royal ancestor cult with the *nawa-sanga* that the significance of the dynasty for the realm is conceived in cosmic terms: in the same way that the

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792 771 659 [643 769] *nawa-sanga* is charged with the maintenance of the cosmic order, the royal house is the fountain from which flows the well-being of the realm. In this connection the veneration of the mountain sanctuaries is of significance, since the mountain serves as a place of contact with the world of the gods and as a cosmic symbol, while there is also a link between such temples and the beneficent irrigation water.

In the broader sense the worship group for state sanctuaries consists of all the inhabitants of the realm. However, in earlier times the ruler usually charged certain village communities with the maintenance of the temples, granting exemption from taxes and services as a compensation. An example of the way in which the obligation of temple maintenance was organized is to be found in the mountain sanctuaries of Tiingan and Bon, which are primarily cared for by the core villagers of four *pĕrbĕkĕlans;* taken together these core villagers are called the *pĕmaksan*, the worship group in the strict sense. The system of charging certain communities or groups of persons with the maintenance of sanctuaries finds a parallel in early Java in the way in which exemptions were granted to *dharmas* and *manggalas*, and later in the system of *pĕrdikan desas*.